

Message Text

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EXDIS

FOR HOLBROOKE, EA: NYE, T. FROM SHOESMITH

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ENRG, TECH, MNUC, JA
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR DIALOG WITH MINISTER SOSUKE UNO

1. FOLLOWING SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL'S VISIT TO JAPAN, IN WHICH HE DELIVERED PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON U.S. NUCLEAR POLICY VIS-A-VIS JAPAN, I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONVEY THE PURPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS TO DIRGEN UNO AS WELL. UNO HAS BEEN SPOKESMAN FOR GOJ NUCLEAR POSITION BOTH PUBLICLY AND IN DIET, AND HIS STRONG REMARKS ABOUT JAPAN'S POSITION HAVE NOT BEEN HELPFUL IN SETTING A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS. PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE HAD BEEN DELIVERED BY MR. BLUMENTHAL TO FUKUDA (WITH HATOYAMA AND SONODA PRESENT) AND TO MITI MINISTER TANAKA.

2. I MADE APPOINTMENT WITH UNO FOR MAY 26. HE HAD WITH HIM KURACHI (STA ADMINISTRATIVE VICE MINISTER), YAMANO (STA NUCLEAR ENERGY BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL), AND KAWASAKI (STA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR). SPEAKING FROM PREPARED NOTES, I EMPHASIZED THAT ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT UNDERSTANDS JAPAN'S PARTICULAR PROBLEMS AND HOPES THAT COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO NUCLEAR ISSUE CAN BE FOUND THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, PRESIDENT CANNOT AGREE TO EVERYTHING JAPAN WANTS. IN PARTICULAR, HE CANNOT MAKE DETERMINA-

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TION OF SAFEGUARDABILITY OF TOKAI PLANT AND HE CANNOT AGREE TO TOKAI'S PROCEEDING WITH OPERATIONS AS PREVIOUSLY PLANNED BY GOJ. I POINTED OUT THAT COMPROMISE SOUGHT BY PRESIDENT WOULD PERMIT TOKAI REPROCESSING PLANT TO OPERATE IN SOME FASHION, BUT NOT TO PRODUCE PURE PLUTONIUM, AND I EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GOJ DELEGATION GOING TO WASHINGTON WOULD BE PREPARED TO OFFER CONCRETE PROPOSALS IN THIS RESPECT, AS WELL AS TO SERIOUSLY

CONSIDER THOSE PROPOSALS WHICH U.S. SIDE MAY HAVE. I EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT A WAY CAN BE FOUND TO REACH AGREEMENT, WHICH COULD BE PUT IN FINAL FORM AT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING BETWEEN UNO AND DR. SCHLESINGER. IN CONCLUSION, I STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF REACHING AGREEMENT TO U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS AND URGED THAT EFFORTS PROCEED VIGOROUSLY AND WITHOUT PUBLICITY, THROUGH HIS STATESMAN-LIKE SUPPORT.

3. IN WHAT APPEARED TO ME TO BE SUBDUED AND PERHAPS EVEN UNCOMFORTABLE MANNER, WNO RESPONDED THAT FUKUDA HAD TOLD HIM ABOUT MESSAGE DELIVERED BY SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL AND THOUGHT IT WAS GOOD MESSAGE. HE OBSERVED THAT HE HAD BEEN CALLED UPON TO EXPLAIN TO DIET THE NEED FOR SENDING ANOTHER DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON, AND HE HAD SAID THAT IT RELATED TO CHANGE IN FOCUS FROM WHAT PRESIDENT HAD SAID ON APRIL 7 TO PROBLEMS DERIVING FROM US-JAPAN BILATERAL AGREEMENT, AND TO SEVEN-NATION EXPERTS MEETING CALLED FOR IN LONDON SUMMIT DECLARATION. HE THEN NOTED THAT FUKUDA HAD TOLD PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY VANCE IN LONDON THAT JAPAN TOOK POSITION THAT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND SEVEN-NATION EXPERTS DISCUSSIONS WERE TWO DIFFERENT MATTERS, AND VANCE REPLIED, "EXACTLY." UNO THEREFORE HAD INFORMED DIET THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH U.S. WERE CONTINUING IN BILATERAL CONTEXT, BUT THAT MULTILATERAL TALKS WOULD PROCEED IN PARALLEL.

4. UNO THEN STATED THAT HE REALIZES EACH SIDE CANNOT OBTAIN WHAT IT WANTS COMPLETELY. DIET IS UNDER IMPRESSION THAT JAPAN HAD BEEN FAITHFULLY FOLLOWING U.S. NUCLEAR POLICY FOR SEVERAL YEARS. NEW POLICY, IN VIEW OF SOME DIET MEMBERS, IS INCONSISTENT, AND INDICATES THAT U.S. IS AIMING AT WORLD CONQUEST IN TERMS OF
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NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. UNO SAID THAT HE HAD REPLIED TO THIS VIEW BY NOT AGREEING WITH IT AND BY ATTRIBUTING PRESIDENT'S POSITION TO HIS HUMANITARIAN OUTLOOK, AND THAT HE WOULD BE STRIVING FOR SOLUTION TO PROBLEM WITH DR. SCHLESINGER IN THIS CONTEXT. AS FAR AS ALTERNATIVES TO CONVENTIONAL REPROCESSING WERE CONCERNED, UNO REMARKED THAT COPROCESSING OR THORIUM PROCESSING, WHILE INTERESTING FROM R&D POINT OF VIEW, WOULD TAKE 10 TO 20 YEARS TO BRING TO COMMERCIAL REALITY, AND THAT TOKAI PLANT AS PRESENTLY CONFIGURED WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN OPERATING IN ANY MODE OTHER THAN PLANNED ONE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT OTHER REMAINING PROBLEMS RELATED TO APPLICATION OF SAFEGUARDS TO TOKAI PLANT AND TO EXPORT OF JAPANESE TECHNOLOGY TO OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

5. I COMMENTED THAT OUR IMMEDIATE, PRESSING PROBLEM IS AS MUCH POLITICAL AS TECHNICAL, AND IT IS TO FIND SOME WAY OF GIVING THE APPEARANCE OF HOT OPERATION AT TOKAI, ALTHOUGH DETERMINATION OF SAFEGUARDABILITY CANNOT BE MADE. I SUGGESTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT EXPERIMENTAL RATHER THAN COMMERCIAL-TYPE PRODUC-

TION OPERATION--NOT RESULTING IN PURE PLUTONIUM PRODUCT--MIGHT QUALIFY. THIS WOULD BUY TIME AND PERMIT INFCEP TO GET UNDER WAY, THEREBY PERMITTING FULL MULTINATIONAL EVALUATION OF ALTERNATIVES TO CONVENTIONAL REPROCESSING, AND I CALLED UPON UNO TO USE HIS IMAGINATION TO FIND AN ANSWER.

6. MEETING CONCLUDED WITH THANKS FROM UNO FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION.

7. COMMENT: I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE HOW PRODUCTIVE MY CONVERSATION WITH UNO WAS IN PERSUADING HIM TO TAKE MORE REALISTIC STANCE. WE DO KNOW THAT MANY GOJ OFFICIALS ARE WORKING INTENSIVELY TO COME UP WITH PROPOSALS FOR WASHINGTON MEETING, WHICH IS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGING. IT IS ALSO ENCOURAGING THAT NEWSPAPERS HAVE NOT REPORTED THAT I MET WITH UNO, INDICATING THAT HE HAS CHOSEN NOT TO MAKE ANOTHER PUBLIC DISPLAY OUT OF OUR TALK.

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